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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
OF
GOV. B. R. TILLMAN
OF
SOUTH CAROLINA.

BY THORNWELL HAYNES.

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STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,

COLUMBIA, October 8, 1894.

MR. B. C. DUPRE, Columbia, S. C.:

DEAR SIR. I have made a hasty examination of the sketch of my life, written by Mr. Haynes for you, and find its statement of facts correct.

Yours respectfully,

B. R. TILLMAN.

PREFACE.

When it first became known among my acquaintances that I thought of writing a sketch of Governor Tillman's life I received the following letter from a very intimate friend:

“April 8, 1894.

“Dear Friend: I am glad to learn that we are to have a biography of so interesting and marked a character as Governor Tillman, and I should esteem it a privilege to render any assistance towards it in my power.

“The great charm of all biography, however short or concise the sketch, is the truth, told simply, directly, boldly, charitably.

“But this is also the great difficulty. A human life is long. A human character is complicated. It is often inconsistent with itself, and it requires nice judgment to proportion it in such a way as to make the book correspond with the man, and make the same impression upon the reader that the man did upon those who knew him best.

“Your difficulty will be to present fairly his less favorable side; but upon this depends all the value, and much of the interest of the work.

“Your true friend,

—————.”

By the wisdom contained in this letter we have tried to abide, presenting the ideas and incidents unadorned save by the chaste adornment which truth alone can give.

We beg to acknowledge our indebtedness to Governor Tillman himself and thank him for the majority of facts related.

THE AUTHOR.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF
GOVERNOR B. R. TILLMAN.

CHAPTER I.

BOYHOOD.

To give to the public a collection of the successive portraits of a man is to tell his affairs openly, and so betray intimate personalities. We are often found quarreling with the tone of the public press, because it yields to what is called the public demand, to be told both the private affairs of noteworthy persons and the trivial details and circumstances of those who are insignificant. Some one has said that a sincere man willingly answers any question, however personal, that is asked out of interest, but instantly resents a question that has its impulse in curiosity; and that one's instinct always detects the difference. This is said to be a wise rule of conduct; but beyond lies the wider subject of our right to possess ourselves of personal information about those we admire, although we have a vague remembrance, even in these days, of the belief of old fashioned and decorous people, that subjects, not persons, are alone fitting material for conversation.

But there is an honest interest, which is as noble a thing as curiosity is contemptible, and it is to gratify this interest that we undertake to write a short biography of Governor Benjamin Ryan Tillman, and it is this interest we hope the reader will entertain as he peruses these pages.

And why not? Certainly an honest interest should attach to the affairs of a mere farmer lad who at one bound has risen to the highest gift within the power of the people of South Carolina.

Benjamin Ryan Tillman was born thirteen miles north of Augusta, in Merriwether Township, Edgefield County, South Carolina, on the eleventh day of August, 1847, just at the time when General Scott had practically captured the City of Mexico, ending that unjust war, which ceded to the United States all the vast territory now comprised in New Mexico, Utah and California. "Bones of four Tillmans lie in a field in Mexico," said Governor Tillman in a speech during the campaign for United States Senator. One of these was the Governor's eldest brother who was killed at the battle of Churubusco.

He was born about eight miles from the Georgia line, but still in South Carolina—that grand old Commonwealth that has given birth to many of the nation's most illustrious statesmen. No province in the country gave nobler names to the cause of liberty than the Haynes, Pinckneys, Rutledges; and no State contributed to the Senate in later times two greater intellectual giants than John C. Calhoun and William C. Preston; and amid the stars that burn brightest in our firmament, South Carolina points with pride to her Hugers, Legares, Pickens, Lowndes, McDuffies, Haynes, Gadsdens, and Sumters, and with no less pride to the Tillmans.

In every sense the object of this sketch is a self-made man, sprung from a line of hardy and industrious farmers of Revolutionary stock, who depended only upon themselves and their God. His ancestors included soldiers on both sides of the family who fought in the war for liberty. His father was Benjamin R. Tillman, whose ancestors had emigrated from the State of Virginia to South Carolina prior to the Revolutionary War and settled in Edgefield District. Here it was his grandfather had settled to farm, and even down to the grandchildren, and by Benjamin, the youngest of eleven, the same occupation was carried on. Reared upon a farm, the character of the whole Tillman family was unconsciously molded and formed by surroundings which gave strength and steadfastness. All the Tillmans have been known to be exceptionally bright, and the men with whom young Benjamin came

into contact during his boyhood were generally without the refinements of life, but they were rugged, sturdy and self-reliant, of powerful physique and healthy intellects. His association with these hardy, vigorous men imbued him with unconquerable energy, indomitable will, and a stern sense of honor which, all through his manhood, has made him a master spirit among men. Is it wonderful that from this sturdy family of Tillmans, that many years before had come from the State of Pennsylvania, stopping over for awhile in the State of Virginia, and at last reaching South Carolina, the future orator, statesman, Governor, should spring? South Carolinians, as indeed everyone, should feel a certain joy in the power of our country to develop men like this. It must speak something for the credit of a country when a man can be brought from the bosom of the people and lifted into the highest stations of place and power without in the slightest degree losing his identity with them. Possessing few of this world's goods and with scant education, his forefathers settled within the borders of South Carolina. And what if they were poor, have not the world's greatest men been rocked in the cradle of poverty? The habits of living in the territory to which the Tillmans had come were primitive; the manners were agreeably free; conviviality at the table was the fashion, and strong expletives had not gone out of use in conversation. Society was the reverse of intellectual; the aristocracy were the merchants and planters; what literary culture found expression was formed on English models. These were the surroundings in which the boy's talent was to develop.

Upon a gentle eminence overlooking the surrounding country was built the substantial house which yet stands in good preservation in open view of a richly cultivated country around. Here was a particular seat of hospitality, the presiding genius of which was the gentle wife and mother, who tempered the atmosphere with the sweet influence of charity and love. Essentially clever and persistent, she was pos-

sessed of a rare degree of patience, which stood her in better stead than a more aggressive spirit. Her maiden name was Sophia Handcock. Many have described her life as being outwardly a model of consistent goodness, and within a shrine where sacrifice of self was joy; obligations were opportunities, and duties benedictions. Benjamin was left under the care of this good mother, his father dying when he was only two years old.

With such a mother and such a home the future leader, Governor, statesman began his growth in knowledge, grace and power, and rose to the full stature of splendid manhood.

He was the youngest of eleven children, the petted darling of that mother's heart, and being named for his father was always the favorite child. By industry and economy the father had accumulated a handsome estate, leaving his family about fifty slaves and a large plantation. But her favorite maxim was, "Act well your part, there all the honor lies." She taught her son to judge men by their acts and not by their clothes, and to treat with respect every man who was honest, however poor. The boy was made to work and to despise hypocrisy and laziness. In this respect he was not different from the great majority of his neighbors, who, like himself, found the healthy and vigorous training by labor in early life the best preparation for the mental as well as the physical tasks of later life. Not a few of the brightest lights of the intellectual and moral world have come from homes of poverty. Who knows in what minds there may be powers, in what hearts there may be affections, which, if upheld by the requisite amount of will power, would produce new benefactors of our race! His earliest associations were with people who earned their bread by the honest labor of their own hands, and many, like his father, had begun life poor but had saved a competence. The impressions thus made on his mind were with him always. They touched his heart, inspired his sympathy, and ever since entering upon public life have conspicuously governed his ideas of duty in every

one of his official acts. Even as a lad he never forgot that it was his duty to learn as well as to labor. There was in those days no easy road to learning, but availing himself of the intelligent tuition of his mother and occasional old field schools, he became imbued with the love of study and made rapid progress.

About this time, when still quite a boy, his mother was taken very ill, and it is related of little "Ben," as he was called around the house, that he became extremely anxious about his mother's condition. Every morning he would tip-toe to the curtains that separated the apartment where she lay, and pushing them apart would ask how she was.

In 1861, at fourteen years of age, he entered Bethany Academy situated at Liberty Hill in the upper portion of Edgefield district. This was an excellent school taught by Mr. George Galphin. Here he attended school, glad and eager that such an opportunity had been opened to him. He continued in Bethany Academy until he was seventeen years of age. While in the Academy he acquired a fair knowledge of Latin and "less Greek," some Geometry and Algebra, sufficient to enter the average Sophomore class in College. But it was never permitted him to enter the doors of a University or College.

He who has founded colleges and schools, despite the bitterest opposition; he who has done so much to educate that class of people who support the world, never had the opportunity of entering a college himself. The war coming on, together with his illness, prevented this. No doubt many a budding intellect has been nipped, and the best affections of many a young heart have been crushed out by such cruel circumstances as these, but Benjamin Tillman rose above them. He let nothing come in the way of his one set purpose of learning. It is interesting to imagine what would have been the result if this giant intellect had been trained through all the courses that a College or University offers; and yet who can tell; it might have been for the worse; certainly, as things are, they are for the best.

CHAPTER II.

MANHOOD.

There are other citizens of South Carolina earlier associated with the history and progress of the State and illustrious in the nation's annals—Governors, United States senators, members of the judiciary, orators closely identified with the growth and greatness of the State, who fill a large space in their country's history; soldiers of high achievement in the earlier and later wars of the Republic; men who developed matchless qualities and accomplished masterly results in the nation's supreme crisis; but from the roll of illustrious names the almost unanimous voice of South Carolina calls and points with pride to Benjamin R. Tillman, the youngest and latest of her historic men—the Governor, the pride of the people, the upright citizen, the incomparable orator, and the designation is everywhere received with approval and acclaim. In him we find the best representation of the possibilities of American life. Boy and man, he typifies American youth and manhood, and illustrates the beneficence and glory of free institutions which he has done so much to establish. His early struggles for an education, his lack of collegiate training, his youthful yearnings, find a prototype in every village, city and hamlet of the land. Such difficulties have not retarded his progress, but spurred him on to higher and nobler endeavor. His push and perseverance, his direct and undeviating life-purpose, his sturdy integrity, has been rewarded with large results and exceptional honors. Tireless in endeavor, by his indomitable will he overcame obstacles, converted embarrassments into opportunities, and made barriers but stepping stones to greater things.

When he left Bethany Academy in July, 1864, he had not quite finished the studies which its course offered, but he gave up his life-cherished plan of obtaining an education, and left school for the purpose of entering the Confederate army

to fight for his native State. He has often spoken with regret of his inability to remain in school. But the call of his State was more imperative than his desire to remain in school, and he had only been kept there by the pleadings of the mother whose word had always been law to him. His soul burned with the patriotic ardor which called the South to arms, but his mother urged him to wait until he was seventeen before leaving school, as he might never have the opportunity again if his life was spared. In a speech at the annual commencement of the Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institute at Cedar Springs several years ago he alluded to this one regret of his life. So pathetically he pictured it there in the chapel of this institution, standing among those many diligent, praiseworthy pupils whom God had deprived of many things, but whose joy some day will be most complete. Probably there are many who read this that will remember the occasion. It was an occasion to make one sad, and there were few dry eyes in the audience when he finished.

Even the noble duty of serving his State, which by his eagerness to enlist seemed to him more as a privilege than a duty, was denied him. Ten days after leaving school he was taken sick, and for two years was an invalid, suffering excruciating pains worse than hardy soldiers are brought to bear. Many unjust, slanderous things have been given ventilation through the public press and on the stump, particularly during his first campaign for Governor, in regard to these two years in which he lay so dangerously near the grave. Some of his most bitter enemies have even declared it all a sham; that his sickness was only feigned as a pretext to keep him from serving in the war. Such taunts and cowardly insinuations are unworthy even the most direful anti-Tillmanite. It was at the beginning of these two years of suffering that an abscess produced by inflammation formed in his left eye. It was this that finally brought on the loss of that organ. The doctor who attended him during his illness says that this

inflammation was brought on by the careless use of his eyes. Studying by poor lights when no better were afforded, and making use of lightwood knot fires in his boyhood to study by, occasioned a weakness of his eyes which had at times caused some trouble before the illness and fatal inflammation came on. Paralysis also visited him while he was prostrated and added to his miseries, and the hopes that were entertained for his recovery grew very faint. But a kind Providence who controls the affairs of men brought matters to a different end than that which was feared. A faithful mother and a noble sister, Fannie, were with him to administer to every want and extend to him that sympathy which one's own alone can give.

There are none braver than the Governor, nor more loyal to their native land, and had it not been for his sickness and his loss of eye, he would have enlisted with the "noble few," but his accident was probably the prevention of a more unfortunate one had he entered the army.

In the latter part of 1866 he gradually rallied from his illness, and by 1867 was able to go to Florida. It had always been the desire of his mother to live in the "Land of Flowers." When Benjamin was sufficiently restored to health to take this trip and to arrange her farm and affairs in South Carolina, he, accompanied by his sister, moved to Florida. This was in the early part of 1867. He bought a plantation in Marion County and settled there, the intention being for his mother and the rest of the family to follow as soon as practicable. For two years he lived in this County with his sister, during which time he courted Miss Sallie Starke of Georgia. Together with two of his sisters he had gone to Elbert, Georgia, early in 1865, to escape Sherman's army, which was then en route to Savannah, and it was while a resident of Elbert County that he first met his wife, then a girl of fifteen. The intercourse between the invalid boy and the school girl ripened into love, and they were married in January, 1868, and the young couple lived in Florida that year. Mrs. Tillman is the

daughter of Mr. Samuel Starke, of Elbert County, Georgia, who was born at Longtown, Fairfield County, South Carolina.

She is a woman of culture and refinement, to whose beauty of character and patient courage he has been largely indebted for his success in life. "Unknown wives of well-known men" is a saying quite too applicable these days. Somebody asked Miss Frances E. Willard, the great woman suffragist, if she was going to attend the World's Columbian Exposition, and she said, "No, that she would not go because of the neglect to provide for the celebration of the part Mrs. Columbus took in the discovery of the new world." Miss Willard says that it was Mrs. Columbus who provided old Christopher with the charts and the maps and the letters of introduction that helped him. She brushed him up, and above and beyond all she gave him the courage and hope that made him believe in himself, and if old Christopher were alive to-day he would cheerfully acknowledge that the credit of the discovery of America was greatly due to Mrs. Columbus. Miss Starke was a person, in some respects, as remarkable as her husband. She was possessed of an extraordinary good judgment, unwearying kindness and love, an elastic cheerfulness, that scarcely anything could subdue, and very strong religious feelings. Since she became the wife of the Governor she has been constantly trying to aid him, and has proven the source of much happiness to him. Instead of seeking for enjoyment in display, she has preferred economical retirement and great but respectable frugality, in order that her husband might pursue more thoroughly and easily his favorite studies. Yet with all her devoted love, and intense reverence for his talents, she remained his true friend, and never shrunk from fully expressing her opinion upon every matter of duty; and if, perchance, she differed from him, she maintained her side of the question with the zeal of a true saint. To their union three sons and four daughters have been born, all of whom, with one exception, are still living.

1869 found him again in South Carolina. Bad health resulting from his stay there, he had returned from Florida, and settled in his native County of Edgefield at the old homestead, where he devoted himself to farming. In this occupation he was most successful. For seven continuous years he continued to farm, managing all the affairs of his mother's and his own plantations, unmolested by any affairs outside of his broad and well-tilled acres. He took no part whatever in politics until 1876. At this time his mother's death occurred, which affected him very much. After this he settled upon his portion of the estate, and still continued to farm, but was prominent during the Hampton campaign as an aggressive leader in the memorable struggle for white supremacy. He took an active part in the historical Ned Tenant, Hamburg and Ellenton Riots, proving that his native State had no cause to complain of his want of love or devotion. During these times he was a member of the Edgefield Hussars, a famous old cavalry organization. Of this company he was elected Captain about 1882, and before becoming Governor in 1890 was always referred to as Captain Tillman. He did much for South Carolina during the troublesome times and dark days of the Hampton campaign and struggle. No matter in what situation he was placed he met its requirements with ability, with dignity, and with clean-hearted and unshrinking courage. He gained the respect and confidence of all he came into contact with during the 1876 campaign. It was then that he put his foot on the first round in the ladder of his political life. All the enthusiasm and patriotism of his nature came to the surface, and ever since he has been engaged in diligent and honest service to his State. He still recognized, as he had when but a boy, that the world was full of opportunity. And thus it has been at every step of his remarkable history. He inspired such confidence in every position he held that he not only never lost an inch of ground once attained, but the constant and confident demand of those who knew him best throughout his entire career desired his promotion from height to

height as long as there was a position of honor and duty above him. After the stand he took and the courage he displayed during 1876 he was asked and begged to enter the race for the Legislature, but still in love with his farm life, steadily refused the many solicitations of his fellow citizens.

In 1882 he seemed suddenly to have awakened to a realization of the lack of suitable training for farmers and a more diversified system of agriculture, with the creation of new industries in South Carolina. In daily contact with his brother tillers of the soil he grew towards them and nourished the sympathy in their interest that became at last the moving factor and principle of his life. He realized that the support of the world rested upon the farmer and it was the farmer who was handicapped more than any other of the sons of men. He gave the situation long, patient, careful study, and saw that only through systematic training and education could the farmer be brought to the plane which Providence meant for him to occupy. From this very time he seems to have made the deliverance of the agricultural classes his one ruling principle in life. It certainly was a Herculean task. But who does not see that almost every farmer in South Carolina knows more about the government at the present time than eight or ten years ago. During his campaign for Senator he said in his speech at Anderson, South Carolina: "It has given me pleasure throughout this campaign of the State to see and talk with you all. You talk more intelligently about our affairs of the government, and there is education all along the line. Don't let us stop. Let us keep on getting it."

It is certainly true that nothing has done the industrial classes of South Carolina more good in an educational way than the Farmers' Alliance. What made Governor Tillman a leader is hard to answer. Wherein was his strength is as equally hard to answer. His life from the time he first began his great work for the agricultural classes of South Carolina has conclusively proven that life is character in movement—is the visible expression of the sum of human energies in their organized activity. The best equipped soldier will win no

victories in the absence of conflict, and the wisest programme will avail nothing in valuable results in the absence of opportunities for its execution. As movement is the condition of growth, so appropriate occasions must be supplied to awaken and stimulate the potent but otherwise latent human forces which produce that great work called life. We cannot, therefore, conceive of a grand life except when we contemplate capacity in conjunction with its appropriate and sufficient opportunities. A heroic occasion, crowned by a heroic act, sometimes determines before the world a grand life, giving not only its quality but supplying its measure. Great is he who sees the occasion, embraces it, and clings faithfully to it. Benjamin Tillman was fortunate in the possession of the capacities and conditions needful to the largest human success. Gifted with splendid powers, he, in youth, conceived that ideal upon which his character was formed and his energies directed. He lives in that crucial period of our history when great occasions and inspiring opportunities are constantly supplied.

He saw before others, and further, that the foundation was being removed from beneath the agricultural and industrial classes, and that they had not only to stand alone bearing upon their shoulders the legitimate superstructure of maintaining the professional and non-producing classes in their necessary and honorable calling of producing bread for the eater and raw materials to clothe the naked, but that a horde of gamblers and speculators under the forms of legalized monstrosities, had fastened themselves upon them and had placed burdens upon them too grievous to be tolerated. Instead of owners they were becoming tenants. It was he who first uprose and protested against a financial system that was fast destroying the resources of the farm, and sweeping all the profits of the laborer into the coffers of the legalized robbers. The result of investigation and study showed him that unless a different and better system of finance was adopted by the government, ruin and disaster

would blight the peace, and prosperity and happiness of the people. To avert this calamity he has bent all the energies of his mind. Since his awakening to this condition of affairs there has been no neutral tint in his decisive character. He has ever since been aggressive, and has proved a force in whatever he has undertaken. He has been no laggard in any relation of life. In his one life purpose there seems to be no limit to his capacity or endurance. After careful study he made no mistake, but began upon the right lines in the very beginning, and that was the education, the enlightening of the producing class. Ever since he has begun he has managed every undertaking with great sagacity, energy and success.

He began the agitation for a farmers' college in 1885 through the pen and on the stump. Intense, progressive, he rarely hesitated to express his opinion of men and things. He knew the ignorance of the masses was very great, but recognized no obstacle as insurmountable. "To know and to do," seems to have been his motto. He began his work for the State of South Carolina by imparting knowledge. Great hopes are far removed from the dwellings of ignorance. At the beginning of his agitation for a farmers' college he was entreated by his fellow citizens to run for office. But nothing could persuade him to enter the race for political honors, he still steadily refused the proffers of his countrymen. An omnivorous appetite for reading had given him a good acquaintance with the best English authors, and there was an incisiveness about his expressions that soon brought around him many followers. He was an attractive speaker to almost any audience. Men listened to him when he spoke. He was always earnest, sincere, bright and original. He hated sham, and was always ready to attack it wherever he found it. He was an iconoclast. He had little reverence for tradition. It was well for the agricultural and industrial classes that with him no evil acquired immunity from attack by lapse of time, nor did age constitute a safe armor against his lance. All his articles for the press were written

with a force of conviction that gave point to his style and weight to his arguments. His speeches upon the stump at once showed a magnificent panoply for public address. His logic was instinct and powerful and moved in ever-augmenting procession. The figures of speech he used were emphasis, and his illustrations arguments. He compelled attention, challenged investigation, and whether right or wrong in his premises and conclusions, made those who heard or read him think. Nothing escaped him. He was pitiless in exposing hypocrisy and denouncing what he deemed extravagant. Always he has been direct-minded and single-hearted. He has never had any concealments and reserve of confidence from those who were brought into relations of intimacy with him. His mind naturally found its way to the elementary conditions of truth and there were no devious methods of thought or action by which the truth thus found was ever obscured or perverted. Starting thus on the fundamental basis of principle, his logic was necessarily severe and irresistible. He never stated a proposition which he did not justify by adequate facts and argument.

The great purpose of bringing relief to an oppressed and struggling class, what hopes and fears must have possessed his mind! How stout his heart must have been at this the beginning of his praiseworthy and admirable career! Before him stretched all the long years of life, years of thought, of work, of attainment, or years of blighted hope, of struggle and failure and useless, dreadful despair. How kind that the future is held from view! For him it may have held so much! In setting before himself such a purpose, how different must have been the state of his mind from those who grow up without any definite tastes or plans, and who develop no predilections! Some, ah, many there are who are mentally indolent and prefer that the decisions should be made for them. Of such one may possibly say without injustice that they are not of the material which will be likely to make at maturity a power either in one direction or another.

In 1882 Captain Tillman was a delegate to the State Democratic Convention which convened in the legislative halls of the State Capitol. In this convention he gave his hearty support to General Bratton for Governor. At this time there was again a very strong pressure brought to bear upon him begging him to stand for election to the Legislature. Friends went to him personally and tried to persuade him to enter the race; articles of appeal through the press of his county tried to get him to become a candidate. The people wanted him there, they knew he would prove a great power for their cause, but still Captain Tillman refused, although his election was assured if he had only announced himself. Such already was the confidence he had inspired in the people of his State. The inherent qualities of heart which he possessed; his uncompromising devotion to what he conceived to be his duty had been recognized, and the people were ready to do homage.

In August, 1885, the State Agricultural and Mechanical Society and the State Grange held a meeting at Bennettsville, Marlboro' County, South Carolina. Captain Tillman was a delegate to this Convention and delivered an address analyzing the cause of the agricultural depression of the State, and the remedy for it. In this address, which made a very deep and lasting impression upon his audience, he dwelt upon the need for better facilities for the education of farmers at the University of the State, the reorganization of the Agricultural Department, the establishment of experimental farms, and the holding by farmers of institutes of their own. This convention was attended by the best representatives of the farming interests in the State, and his address was received with applause and endorsed in an enthusiastic manner.

This Convention was in session for four days. Here the Reform baby of South Carolina was born, and Captain Tillman was its godfather. Having been so successful in rearing the child the Governor, nearly ten years afterwards in the same place, during the canvass for United States Senate, devised a plan which he hopes will bring national reform.

This new baby may take several years to grow to anything approaching the size of its South Carolina brother, but when it once begins to thrive it promises to become a Goliath in proportions. His second plan which he proposed is a simple one. It is in the nature of a war cry to the oppressed people of the South and West. It is simply a plan for them to put aside everything they are now fighting for except financial reform and bend their united energies to the task of changing the present monetary system. When they have accomplished this they can then return to other issues and carry them to success singly or any other way they choose.

Benjamin R. Tillman's first speech at Bennettsville in favor of immediate steps to be taken for the enlightenment of the farmer was what brought him forward more prominently than anything else as a Reformer. The agitation for Industrial and Scientific training for poor boys soon broadened into a demand for reform in politics. At this time politics were in a state of stagnation because of the convention system of nominating in the Democratic party, and the existence as he charged of an oligarchy of office-holders, consisting of the members of the old aristocratic families of the State. It was the ring that oppressed the farmer; it was the ring that cared nothing for the interest of the agricultural and industrial classes, and the ring it was that instituted and placed upon the statute book only such laws as to them were popular and profitable. To abolish this hereditary office-holding was the first and most important step that was to be taken. Captain Tillman saw this. He was a farmer, and it was his own class, and all classes that lived by the "sweat of their brow," that he had begun to fight for, and it was these classes with whom he was in sympathy heart and soul. Here was the first great obstacle that presented itself. As long as there was a combination like this in power, certainly nothing could be done. He realized that time was needed. It was an educational process. There must be organization, unity of purpose and endeavor.

In 1886 and 1887 he saw that the ring was too well entrenched to be overthrown. The farmers and working classes had not been sufficiently aroused and organized. He continued with patient endeavor to contribute articles to the leading agricultural papers, and to advocate his plans on the platform when occasion afforded. He was endowed by nature with fine intellectual powers, which were developed and strengthened by a culture and a discipline that enabled him to comprehend more readily and accurately the various questions which demanded his attention both in public and private life. His conclusions upon any subject were not mere impressions derived from intuitive perception, but were the result of careful investigation and reason. He always studied the premises of every situation very closely, being cautious in the expression of opinions until they had been clearly and definitely formulated in his own mind by deliberate thought and reflection. This part gives great weight to his opinions upon all questions which he discusses, and inspires a reliance upon his judgment on the part of others which is seldom seen, and which is as seldom found to be misplaced. After Governor Tillman once comes to the conclusion in his own mind that he is right, nothing can move him from his course. He is always persistent in what he thinks to be right. It is true the advice of friends is not always disregarded, but he adheres to what he believes his duty with a tenacity that is worthy of imitation. People all over the United States recognize this worthy characteristic of the Governor's make-up. We clip an article from *Frank Leslie's Weekly* which appeared just after the recent Darlington riot. It certainly shows Tillman's fidelity to duty:

"Governor Tillman of South Carolina is by no means an ideal personage, but he has displayed some qualities as an Executive which must commend him to the approval of law-abiding citizens. His course in reference to the enforcement of the Dispensary law has certainly shown that he is abso-

lutely fearless in the performance of what he conceives to be his duty. This law has been stubbornly resisted in Charleston, where something in the nature of a conspiracy against it and the officers with its execution has been organized by the liquor interest. It is said that spies and spotters dog the footsteps of the constables and harass them with threats of personal violence; that this defiance of the law is encouraged in more influential quarters; and this is the state of affairs which provokes Governor Tillman to aggressive action. He meets the bulldozing of the liquor sellers with this declaration: "This law will have to be obeyed. I will stop illicit whiskey selling in Charleston if it takes all the military and constables in the State to do it, and even if we have to kill a few of these Italian bulldozers.' There is no mistaking the meaning of this declaration. The Governor is not wise perhaps in his talk about killing, but he is right in his determination to maintain and enforce the law, if he should actually employ the military, as he says he will if necessary to do so, and if those who defy him should become victims of his displeasure and their own folly, right minded people would overlook his intemperance of speech in their approval of his fidelity to official duty."

By 1890 the Industrial and Agricultural classes had moved forward a step. Among themselves they had talked and debated upon National questions. The Alliance had been formed and within its organization the educational training had begun. The Reform movement, if it had done nothing else, had brought the farmers and workingmen to think and act for themselves. Investigation and consultation had shown that unless a different and better system of finance was adopted by the government, ruin and disaster would follow.

CHAPTER III.

GOVERNOR---CAMPAIGN OF 1890--92.

The campaign of 1890 will ever be memorable in the history of South Carolina. It witnessed the first decisive steps the farmers had taken to remove the oppression that had been put upon them by the monied class. They had come to a full appreciation of the issues which were to be met, and the time seemed ripe for a man representing their own interests to be put into the field. The study of economical questions and political science, however small, had at least taught them that they could do nothing without a hand in the government. They must be represented by some honest, fearless man, who would at all times, with an ever-vigilant eye, subserve their interest, and take advantage of every honest opportunity to bring them from under the oppression they were bearing.

In 1876 the "horny-handed sons of toil" had left their plows, and under the lead of gallant and patriotic men had overthrown the government of the carpet-bagger and the negro. But after the Hampton campaign had subsided and the farmers had returned to their homes and their fields, need of another reform eventually became evident. The conduct of those whom they had placed in power had not been what it should have been, and this call for reform in 1890 brought them, with all the power and influence they could wield, to help break up the "ring" and place in power leaders of their own choice—men who would not flinch to do their every duty.

Early in the year, South Carolina became instinct with the coming change. Laborers were in the pinch of discomfort from conditions constantly growing harder and harsher, and, summing up the situation, had declared that the thing called politics had to do with the case. They were a long time in locating the difficulty, but three years of patient

inquiry, with Capt. Tillman as prime mover in the cause, turned on much light, and there came to be abroad in the land a settled conviction and deep purpose that more of justice and equity should obtain.

They had not long to look for a Governor. The Executive Committee of the Farmers' Association held a meeting in Columbia in November, 1889. This committee was composed of one from each County, and under the Constitution had charge of everything connected with the Association, and was authorized to take any steps likely to aid the purposes for which the organization was formed. When this committee met in November, representative of sixteen Counties, after full discussion of the situation and a careful consideration of what should be done, it ordered Capt. G. W. Shell to issue an address and call a Convention. This is now known in the political history of South Carolina as "The Shell Convention." This call, issued by Capt. Shell (every word of which was composed and written by Captain Tillman himself) is known as the "Shell Manifesto." The Convention which it called together met March 27, 1890, in Columbia. In this Convention Mr. J. L. M. Irby, of Laurens, in an eloquent and impassioned address, placed in nomination Capt. Benjamin R. Tillman, of Edgefield. The nomination was seconded, amid deafening applause, by Mr. Padgett, of Edgefield. Capt. Tillman was then nominated by acclamation.

He who had so many times before refused to run for office now saw it was his imperative duty to obey the call. The time was ripe for action. Heretofore he had seen that he could do more good in going among the farmers, in speaking to them upon the hustings and through the press, than in going to the Legislature, as they desired. But now they wanted him to fill an office, for which he believed it his duty to canvass the State. After many years spent in trying to educate the masses, amid an unfair and non-representative government, he believed that the time had at last arrived. But it meant bold, direct, unflinching action, and this was the kind of action that Benjamin Tillman gloried in. He

stopped not to regard consequences if his fellow-farmer was helped to bear better his burden.

It may be asked what was the power in and with this man—what was and is the secret of his success in life. For he is essentially a successful man, if position, respect, honor, manhood, and troops of friends can be said to make a man a successful one. It was this: Let it now be the open secret of Governor Tillman's whole life and successful career; let it be known and accepted by all, especially by the young and rising generation of men who would aspire to follow in his footsteps, to find a like success: know all men, then, that it was the willingness and the ability to avow always and follow his own convictions on any subject or duty. It was manhood recognized and applied to life, with common sense, an honest heart, and a tireless energy.

He toiled while others slept, he worked while others idled, and thus outstripped more brilliant competitors. He never believed in luck or duplicity to attain an end, but always relied upon labor, truth, and manly methods in whatever he undertook.

We should have mentioned before this that the Farmer's Alliance had already taken deep hold of the people, and the office-holding class and the corporation-serving press which had heretofore addressed the farmers as the "solid yeomanry," "bone and sinew" of the country, soon changed their tune. The Reformers were now referred to as "old hayseed Socialists," and accused of seeking class legislation. Whereas the farmers had admired and obeyed others, they now begun to think and act for themselves—in the estimation of the "ring" a great crime.

When they prepared to attempt the embodiment of their plans, they had not been so sanguine as to expect to accomplish everything at once; but they had expected, after the importance the Farmers' Movement had assumed all over the State, and after the fair promises had been made them by those seeking office at their hands, that the Legislature would have done something; that some promising action at

least would have been undertaken in their interest. But even in this modest expectation they had been entirely disappointed. What little was pretended to be done in their interest resulted in injury rather than good. In 1886 they had entrusted the Agricultural Board with procuring information about Agricultural Colleges and reporting to the Legislature, which was about equivalent to securing in advance an adverse report. Certainly three, and very likely all five of the board, were adverse to a College separate from the State University. Of course, a report was submitted in favor of continuing the agricultural annex, which the farmers rightly regarded as of little or no use to them or anybody else. What was wanted was an Agricultural College with an experimental farm separate and apart from the State University.

In the next place, the establishment of an experimental station prior to the College was putting the cart before the horse. Such a station in connection with the College, and under the direction of the professors, would have been all right and proper, and would have created but little additional expense. Some were led, or rather misled, into supporting the experimental station plan, with the idea that it would eventually be expanded into a college. But to show more plainly the "true inwardness" of this movement, the Senate in its devotion to the farmer must needs divide this station in two, one for the up-country and one for the low-country. Now, if either had thought of expanding into a college the other would have opposed it, and between the two the opponents of the college would have stepped in and prevented either.

This was the kind of Legislature purporting to be in the interest of the farmer.

The farmers did not ask of the Legislature any extreme or unreasonable measures, or anything that would add materially to the burden of our already over-taxed people. They only asked for a reorganization and enlargement of the Agricultural Board, such as would give it the confidence of

the people, and place it in more direct connection with the farmers' necessities. Next, they asked that steps be taken looking to the establishment of an Agricultural College. Was there anything unreasonable in these demands? The State was spending over \$40,000 per annum for the higher education of lawyers and doctors and preachers at the State University, and for military training at the Citadel Academy.

These were some of the things for which Captain Tillman had been fighting. The agitation for industrial and scientific training for poor boys broadened into a demand for reform in politics, and he was the man, the only man, in South Carolina who could successfully lead the movement forward.

It was with a sense of ridicule for reform principles that those who were in power came to the fight, but one or two of Captain Tillman's speeches opened eyes that before were blinded by conceit, and soon from mountain to sea the opponents of the Reformers recognized that it was a man of brains with whom they had to do battle.

General Joseph H. Earle, conceded to be one of the finest lawyers at the South Carolina bar, was the opposing candidate for the gubernatorial chair, as was also General John Bratton. Endowed with talents, renowned as a speaker, was General Earle, and the possessor of a high and finished education. It was thought before the canvass opened that Captain Tillman would hardly be in the race.

But the Reform candidate thought differently. He possessed a rare degree of faith in himself, because he knew he was right. It was not long before the "ring" (as Captain Tillman had named them) saw that their defeat was inevitable. They awoke to the fact that General Earle was no match for his opponent as a stump-speaker. Slowly this dawned upon them as one by one every County seat in the State was canvassed, and the issues of the day were put before the people. This itself was Captain Tillman's doing. Not one-tenth—hardly one out of a hundred—had before this seen the man for whom they voted for Governor. Captain Tillman inau-

gured a system by which every man, every woman and child in South Carolina had opportunity to see the candidates who asked for office, and decide the merits and arguments of these men for themselves.

The result of this canvass was an overwhelming victory for Captain Tillman. He was elected to the executive office by a vote in convention of 270 out 320.

During the campaign General Wade Hampton visited South Carolina to lend his influence against Captain Tillman, but it did no good. He came all the way from Canada to attend the meeting in Columbia on June 24, 1890, traveling nearly four days. He also spoke at Aiken and other places during the campaign, but he, together with Bratton, Earle and Haskell, was no match for the people's champion in the discussion of either measures or men.

An independent ticket was run against him at the polls with Haskell at its head, but it resulted in nothing.

In 1892 the Conservatives were determined to overthrow the Tillman "ring." Two good lawyers, Sheppard and Orr, opposed him. At every campaign meeting in the State during the canvass crowds flocked to hear them. An unusual amount of interest was manifested. Governor Tillman still carried on the campaign upon Reform and Educational lines, while the opposite party rather dealt in personalities and abuse in lieu of argument. The result was, as every one of judgment predicted, a crushing defeat for the Conservatives.

And thus for a second term was Governor Tillman, the pride of the people, seated in the gubernatorial chair, than whom none of Carolina's sons were more worthy of the honor.

CHAPTER IV.

CAMPAIGN FOR SENATOR, 1894.

Not so very many days ago a gentleman in conversation with Governor Tillman asked him:

“Can you explain to me this awful bitterness of political feeling in South Carolina?” The Governor sat down and told his story.

“I began in 1885 to see that the agricultural classes were, through interest charges, and through the credit system, fast sinking into a condition of servitude. The farmers were becoming tenants instead of owners. Then the Alliance came along, and some good things were done for the farmers. Farmers combined and borrowed money at low rates and paid cash.

“Then began the division between the country and the town people of South Carolina. The town people did not get such good prices as they had obtained by the credit system. They no longer had the goose to pluck. I had gone into politics, not for the sake of politics, but to use politics as a means to bring about this reform on behalf of the farmer, and another great reform—that of the educational system. When the town people looked about to find some one to blame for the reduction of their profits, they saw Ben Tillman’s head sticking up and they struck at it. That’s how the townspeople got to opposing me.

“Well, I had another great reform in mind—a reform of the educational system. I thought I saw that the South could never compete with the North until her boys and girls were given a more practical and technical education. I thought the State should supply a bread-and-meat education—yes, a bread-and-meat education, and a bread-and-meat culture, if you will—and leave the gimcracks of education to those who had money enough to spend to get them. The result of that was a College opened last July, in which for \$100 a year each, six hundred boys are learning the applied sciences and good English.

“And now, don’t you see, this antagonized the old aristocracy, and they joined the townspeople against me. Farmers move slowly, and it has taken a long while to get them together, but the reforms are coming. I regret to say, though, that never among any people was the line of political difference drawn so strongly as the lines which mark the corporation limits of the towns and cities in South Carolina at this time.”

No one has looked into and judged affairs with a keener and more practiced eye than Benjamin R. Tillman. The farmers and working classes of South Carolina have put their faith in him, and he has shown, by his persistency, his insight and courage, that they could have placed confidence in none better. We remember a speech made by the Governor in the recent campaign for Senator, in which he pictured the poverty-stricken condition of the farmers and said they were euchered out of their earnings by the scheming scoundrels in Washington. In this same speech we remember he touched upon the money question. He told how England, the creditor of the world, had stricken down silver in order to advance the value of the interest received from other nations. Every man having an income from bonds and stocks was opposed to silver. These fellows had manipulated Congress in regard to the issue of paper money, and now controlled the outlet of money, prices and products. Silver had shrunk in value, and with it the prices of products had shrunk. This country ought not to be paying interest. It ought to be issuing its own money. The only reason that this could not be done was because one-half of the country was bamboozled by the newspapers and manipulators to vote the other half down, and the money power is always on top, and the thieves in both parties joined hand to keep the people poor and make themselves rich.

The Governor is a farmer, but none the less a student of political economy. He has always the nerve to do what is right, and in 1890 to 1894 has given South Carolina the best government it has ever known. His speeches are fearless

denunciations of what he believes wrong, and are models of directness and terseness. None have been found to approach him when brought upon the hustings. In no instance have his opponents ever been known to triumph over him in any debate upon any single point.

"I am God Almighty's gentleman," exclaimed the Governor at one of the campaign meetings in 1892.

"It's a mighty poor job," put in Col. Sheppard.

"I am not one who criticises God's work," answered the Governor amid deafening applause.

"I am not running the Dispensary," interrupted General Butler at the meeting in Chester.

"Then leave it alone," answered the Governor.

Such were always the ready answers his opponents met. No political enemy has ever desired to come before him the second time.

Some of the papers in South Carolina became very indignant that the Governor of the State should use such words as "God Almighty's gentleman." They probably did not know that it is a quotation from the poet Dryden.

The principal points brought out in the canvass with Senator Butler were about the same as those in 1892. They can be gathered from the following account of the campaign meeting in Anderson, August the 7th, 1894, as described by the *News and Courier* of that date:

"General Butler waited for absolute quiet before he began to speak. He said that it was on the very spot where he was speaking that he made a speech for white supremacy in 1876. He had no idea of being rewarded with the Senatorship when he thousands of times risked his life to rid the State of its incubus. He would have preferred death on the battlefield rather than have taken the abuse heaped on him and his family before he got his seat. He has borne the burdens of the office with but one sentiment, and that was his duty to the State, free from the influences of bribery and cajolery. He did not intend to identify himself with any faction in the State, and his fight was to have others stop fighting. He

clearly and graphically described to the crowd why the South has been unable to secure the relief it wanted because it has not votes enough. He denounced as a slander any charge of corruption against such honorable Senators as Gordon and Walsh, Jones and Berry, Morgan and Pugh, Coke and Mills, Call and Pasco, Ransom and Jarvis, Daniel and Hunton, Vest and Cockrell, most of whom were honorable Confederates, who could not be bought with all the money in the land. He defended the Senate tariff bill and paid considerable attention to financial issues. He was given a most careful hearing, except for the last few minutes. The entire crowd seemed enraptured with his speech, which was loudly applauded.

“Governor Tillman was cheered to the echo when he arose and the crowd bunched up to the stand. He had lots of whooping and assurances that he was going to the Senate. He took up the defensive for the “Reform” primary and convention. If the committee should prove so treacherous as to call off that Convention and let all of the candidates go in the general primary you all had better watch and pray that your “Reform” measures don’t topple out and be lost, he cried. The Dispensary he called a compromise between fanaticism and intemperance. He held that in reopening the Dispensaries he simply did what he regarded his duty to the people. He went over his course in hiding out with the law and how with the new Judge he could hope to save the law. He holds that there will be \$300,000 or \$400,000 annual profit in the law. For some reason the Governor spent most of his time defending the Dispensaries, search warrants, prices and other features. He promised that the liquor would be gotten down to 80 per cent. proof and sold at \$2, if that was wanted.

“Make it \$1.50,” cried Josh.

“No, sir, you shan’t have it,” said Governor Tillman.

He closed up with Third Partyism and National politics, and said he never charged the men who voted for free silver as being bought. He wanted to know what about Carlisle.

The tariff bill now up was a humbug and a cheat he thought. He charged that it took a Democratic President to buy Congressmen to betray the South and the West. He wanted to know where the sub-treasury ever won a fight. The only place the Alliance has won the fight was in South Carolina, because he had kept the Alliance out of the Third Party. The politicians, he charged, were in league to defeat him. Now the effort was to send men to Columbia pledged to support some one standing on the Ocala platform on all fours, and they would probably combine with the Butler men and defeat him. South Carolina need not go into the next Democratic Convention or into the Populist organization if it preferred not. The best way to stay inside was to vote for Governor next Saturday, and when the candidates for the Legislature come around ask them who they will vote for. He charged that there was a bribery fund of half a million to defeat him. He warned the boys to keep their eyes open. He thought that he would get all the satisfaction he wanted and let his speech go out in a blaze of glory by having a hand primary, so he called upon all those who were willing to follow him into a new party and who wanted him for United States Senator to raise up their hands. Up shot the hands of the crowd accompanied with a series of hurrahs.

The following letter, written by Governor Tillman to the Hon. Thos. P. Mitchell, Chairman Executive Committee, on May the 15th, will best define the Governor's position as candidate for United Senator:

COLUMBIA, S. C., May 15, 1894.

Hon. Thos. P. Mitchell, Woodward, S. C. :

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of yesterday received. As you ask for a prompt reply, I answer at once. Having been the recognized leader of the Reform party or faction in the State since its organization in April, 1886, and having been very pronounced and outspoken in my speech at St. Louis last October, and more recently in my interview of April 9th ult., I did not go into details in answering your letter of April 18th, because I thought it entirely unnecessary. I had no thought of keeping any opinions or policy I hold on public

questions hidden—as I am not a straddler or dodger in politics or anything else.

I will, therefore, answer as clearly as I know how, in order to satisfy all who may care to know how I stand.

The financial policy advocated by the Alliance embraces three things:

1. The abolition of national banks and the issue of paper money direct by the United States Government.

2. The free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

3. The increase of the circulating mediums, gold, silver and legal tender greenbacks, to at least \$50 per capita of population.

These fundamental ideas or demands are accompanied by the scheme for a government system of banking, incorporating the sub-treasury idea and the lending of money to the people at a low rate of interest.

To the three propositions set forth above I can and do give my earnest support, and will strive, if elected Senator, to see them incorporated into law and become the fixed policy of our government.

I also can advocate and fight for all the other "demands," except that I doubt the wisdom or practicability of the government owning and running all railroads, telegraph and telephone lines. I will take occasion during the campaign to discuss all these matters fully. The one essential point on which I differ with the Alliance is the lending of money to the people. I could easily dodge behind the "or something better," if so minded, but my self-respect and my duty to the people who have shown such love and trust in my leadership will not allow me to quibble or shirk, whatever consequences may follow this avowal. I would be unworthy of the honors they have conferred on me in the past and of all trust whatever if I did not come out boldly and tell them the truth. This is the more obligatory on me now because I am seeking to enter National politics. In 1892 I did not discuss National questions or oppose the incorporation of the Ocala platform in the State Democratic platform in May, because I saw there was danger of our hot-headed Alliance-men splitting off into a third party—the fatal blunder which caused Mr. Cleveland's nomination and well-nigh destroyed the Alliance in all the other Southern States. Had our example in South Carolina been followed in the other Southern States, Alliance ideas would be the predominant ones in all the South to-day, and our National administration would not be controlled by allied mug-wumps and Republicans and

traitors. I am differently situated now, being a candidate for the United States Senate, and honesty compels that every one who votes for me shall know how I stand. I am unalterably opposed to the National government lending anybody money. The Alliance is not consistent when it demands the abolition of National banks on the ground that the system is unjust and robs the people (in all of which I concur) for the benefit of a privileged few, and then turns around and asks that the government lend money to the farmer under a similar system on the same terms. It is a transfer of a special privilege, which should never have been granted to anybody, from the banks to the holders of cotton, wheat, etc., and cannot be defended, because two wrongs never make one right. But without going further into the argument, which can be amply discussed this summer, I must remind you that in spite of all our efforts to restore silver to its place, the money power has succeeded in its long cherished purpose of demonetizing it. This was accomplished through the unwise leadership of those Southern Alliance-men who left the Silver Democrats at the critical time to organize the Third Party and enabled Cleveland's henchmen to divide many Southern delegations and control others so that he got the nomination in spite of his record on silver. Now, as South Carolina set her sisters a wise example in 1892, it is incumbent on her to repeat it in 1894. It is time to be formulating the platform and marshaling the people for 1896. Abating not one jot or tittle of the demands which can be defended and upon which we can go to the country in the hopes of carrying the next Presidential election, we must eliminate all radical and impracticable schemes and appeal to the good sense and enlightened self-interest of the great American people. Too many issues will only confuse and divide us and we cannot afford to palter about lending money on cotton and wheat when we have not been able to prevent the Lombard and Wall street combination from accomplishing the enslavement of the masses by the demonetization of silver, and the banking system which enables those thieves to control the circulating medium at will. Let us give battle to the enemies of liberty and prosperity among the masses under the flag of "free silver, more greenbacks and gold—all legal tender and all receivable for any and all dues, private and public." and we have some chance of winning. Leave methods of distribution and the system of banking alone to be settled after we win the fight on those issues.

Now, as to voting against caucus control, I can readily and willingly promise to sustain this policy and vote on the lines I have indicated without regard to any caucus. The Northeastern Democrats have set us an example on that line, which will be sufficient excuse for all time. The Senate Democratic caucus has made concessions to local interests which have destroyed what little there was of "tariff reform" in the Wilson bill. The goldbug Democrats of the House refused to caucus on the repeal of the Sherman law last Summer. Eastern Democrats and Republicans alike ignore party lines and caucuses when their interest is at stake. It is time we of the South and West should do likewise. The caucus was a good thing as long as it served to rob those sections; it becomes obsolete when justice is sought to be obtained through its agency. My dear sir, in conclusion, I hope I have made my position clear enough at last. If it shall unite and cement the Alliance in my support I shall be glad, but if not, I shall not complain and will cheerfully leave the matter of my election in the hands of my fellow citizens. If honored by their suffrages I will in the future, as in the past, stand by their rights and interests with all the power of mind and heart which I may possess. If they choose to retire me to private life, I will as cheerfully abide their will.

Respectfully,

B. R. TILLMAN.

During the campaign for Senator the opponents of Tillman hardly dared to discuss the issues on their merits; they tried to obscure them by personalities. They dared not admit that Tillman led the people to secure their rights, and for the first time since the war made public discussion possible. He built up patriotism and love of country in all hearts.

When the history of South Carolina is written, after the storms of passion and prejudices have passed away, Governor Benjamin Ryan Tillman will go down as one of South Carolina's greatest characters.

CHAPTER V.

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES.

The following is the beginning of the speech delivered by the Governor at Bennettsville, on August 6, 1885. It has been said that it was at this place and at this time that the baby of Reform was born. It was the custom of the Governor, when he first delivered orations, to read them, so on this occasion he begins:

“Mr. President and Gentlemen: I know that whenever a man draws as large a pile of manuscript as this on an audience he strikes terror to the soul of everybody in it; but while I shall be compelled by circumstances to occupy more of your time than I could wish, I promise you one thing: I shall interest you. A comparison of my own with the faces of other delegates here shows me that I am one of the youngest of your number. I therefore beg that you will not attribute anything I may say or do to want of modesty, but give me credit for fulfilling what I conceive to be my duty, a duty I owe to those who sent me here, and to the farmers throughout the State.

“I am aware that any man who attempts to attract the attention of as large an audience as this to anything he may read, has a hard job before him, no matter how interesting or important his subject. But, like most farmers, I have been more accustomed to execute my thoughts than to speak them. Then, too, I have noticed that however fluent a talker a farmer may be while sitting down, as soon as you put him on his feet and give him the floor, he gets lost and confused, and stops outright; or else he leaves unsaid half he intended to say. In the few attempts of such a nature which I have made, I have found that my ideas outrun my words, and when I got the words the ideas were gone. Like a pair of unbroken colts, they never would work kindly together, and there was either a balk or a runaway scrape, in

which I said something that I did not intend. 'Speaking makes a ready man, writing an exact man.' I will therefore ask your permission to read what I have to say, while I attempt to direct the attention of this large and representative body of some of the best and most progressive farmers in the State to several of the most important questions."

The remaining portion of the speech was a survey of the farmer's surroundings and future prospects, with suggestions as to his relief.

The following contains the three first paragraphs of the Governor's Inaugural Address, delivered at Columbia, S. C., December 4, 1890:

"Gentlemen of the General Assembly: It is seldom in the history of politics that a man is so honored as I am. It is customary to perform the ceremony of inauguration in public, but only once before, that I am aware, has it been necessary in South Carolina to hold it in the open air in order to let the people see. To the large number of my fellow-citizens who have done me the honor to come as witnesses of this impressive ceremonial, I can only say, in simple words, I thank you. To the people I owe my election, after a most memorable canvass. To the people I owe allegiance, and to the people I pledge loyal service. This is no mere holiday occasion. The citizens of this great Commonwealth have, for the first time in its history, demanded and obtained for themselves the right to choose their Governor, and I, as the exponent and leader of the revolution which brought about the change, am here to take the solemn oath of office, and enter upon the discharge of its onerous duties. Before doing this it is proper, and usage makes it obligatory upon me, to make known my views and opinions on the important questions agitating the public mind, and to show where and how reforms are needed and can be wrought.

"With such an audience as this, sympathetic and enthusiastic, I might, if I were an orator, attempt to play upon your feelings, and win applause by flights of what some call eloquence; but which sensible people consider as "glittering

generalities"—the tinsel and brass buttons of a dress parade meaning nothing and worth nothing. The responsibilities of my position, the reliance of the people upon my leadership, the shortness of our legislative session (one-fourth of which is already gone), alike demand the display of practical statesmanship and business methods. We are met to do the business of the people—not to evolve beautiful theories, or discuss ideal government. We come as Reformers, claiming that many things in the government are wrong, and that there is room for retrenchment and reduction of taxes. Our task is to give the people better government, and more efficient government, as cheaply as possible. We must, however, never lose sight of the fact that niggardness is not always economy. The people will pay even more taxes than at present if they know those taxes are wisely expended, and for their benefit.

"Before I proceed to discuss, in plain, straightforward fashion, the legislation I shall ask you to consider, I desire to congratulate you upon the signal victory achieved by the people at the recent election. Democracy, the rule of the people, has won a victory unparalled in its magnitude and importance, and those whose hearts were troubled as they watched the trend of national legislation in its unblushing usurpation of authority, its centralizing grasp upon the throats of the State, its abject surrender to the power of corporate money and class interests—all such must lift up joyful hearts of praise to the all-Ruler, and feel their faith in the stability of our republican institutions strengthened. In our own State the triumph of Democracy and white supremacy over mongrelism and anarchy, of civilization over barbarism, has been most complete. And it is gratifying to note the fact, that this was attended by a political phenomenon which was a surprise to all of us. Our colored fellow-citizens absolutely refused to be led to the polls by their bosses. The opportunity of having their votes freely cast and honestly counted, which has been claimed is denied the negroes, caused scarcely a ripple of excitement

among them. They quietly pursued their avocations, and left the conduct of the election to the whites. Many who voted cast their ballots for the regular Democratic ticket, and the consequence is, that to-day there is less race prejudice and race feeling between the white men and black men of South Carolina than has existed at any time since 1868."

The last sentence in his inaugural was:

"Pledging you my best efforts and hearty co-operation in your arduous labors, and invoking the guidance and blessing of the Father upon our labors in behalf of our beloved State and its people, I am now ready to call Heaven to witness and enter upon the duties of my office."

The following is a report of the Governor's speech before the International Temperance Congress in Prohibition Park, Staten Island, June the 4th, 1894. The report is in many respects untrue, for we speak from authority when we say that the audience was very much impressed and in sympathy with the speaker:

"I have come a long way and left my official duties for the truth and the right. I have heard a great deal at the sessions I have attended of 'sand' and 'backbone.' It has been said that I possess these qualities. I will say that I will show here to-night that I am willing to advance my convictions on my audience, and I am going to controvert your dearest ideas and firmest beliefs. I am probably the only politician present. I have been elected Governor of a State, and I am a candidate for the United States Senate, and expect to be elected."

The Governor then went on to say that he was not exactly a politician in the ordinary acceptance of the term. He said that he always spoke his convictions, and that was not characteristic of politicians. He said that he was a farmer, that his gubernatorial position was his first office. He announced that he proposed to have his say, and if any one in the audience wanted to throw rocks at him he would throw rocks back. Then, drawing himself to the full height, he said, in tones that made the rafters ring:

“I am here to-night to tell you that prohibition don’t prohibit, and never will prohibit. We have got a plan in South Carolina that completely wipes out saloons, and we have done more than you have. Now, I am a temperance man. (Applause.) I never drank five gallons of whiskey, all told, in my life. (Applause.) I sometimes take a social glass with my friends, but I don’t like the stuff.”

The Governor then produced a bottle of whiskey with the South Carolina label on it. He waved it like a fire brand in the faces of the total abstainers and described the State Dispensary plan. He said that prior to the decision of the Supreme Court of the State there were sixty-six Dispensaries in operation in the State, and the State had paid out \$379,000 for liquor, \$57,000 for bottles, and \$37,000 for labels and other expenses. From the total outlay of \$475,000, and with \$98,000 worth of liquor on hand, \$567,000 worth had been sold, and a net profit of \$100,000 to the State and \$84,000 to the Counties had been realized. He said that the quality of whiskey was chemically pure, so that the people quit having a debauch when they got drunk on it. A moment later he said people did not get drunk on Dispensary whiskey, they got drunk on blind-tiger whiskey, which he said they hid in holes in the ground or “toted” in their boot-legs. He stirred up the audience by declaring that prohibition would never be established by votes. “Give us a chance,” said a man in the front. This brought a volley of applause. When the Governor shouted, “You are not ready to remove the government tax on whiskey.”

“Yes we are,” came from all parts of the hall.

“Then you are blinder than I thought you were,” said the Governor.

A moment later he alluded to prohibition “narrow-mindedness,” and complained that the audience would only go half way with him.

Then he said: “Before you are a dozen years older you will see half the States in the Union following the example of South Carolina.”

“Never,” shouted a woman delegate.

“If you can’t get prohibition will you take the Dispensary?” asked the Governor.

There were a hundred noes, and one man in the back of the hall said yes.

“That is encouraging,” said the Governor. He said that in all the country of South Carolina, and nearly all the towns, public sentiment is in favor of the Dispensary law, and it will be carried out eventually. He went on: “So far as backbone is concerned, I have as much as any other man, but when you tackle the liquor trade entrenched behind its hundreds of millions, you need to have the backbone of the Statue of Liberty.”

The following speech was delivered on Sunday morning, March 31, 1894, to the Governor’s Guards. It was delivered in the court yard of the Executive Mansion:

“Gentlemen of the Governor’s Guards: I have sent for you under peculiar circumstances, which will be stated in a few remarks. I am Chief Executive of South Carolina, the head of the government. My duty is to have the laws enforced. When the civil authorities become powerless the militia are the only resource of the government to restore order. When my right hand stretched forth night before last to command the peace, endeavoring to restore order, you, representing that arm, were paralyzed by a mob here, when my effort and desire was to send you to Darlington to repress another mob. I have for fourteen years been a militiaman, and I know, perhaps better than any of you, as citizen soldiers, how you must feel with reference to the position you now occupy. You stand before the State in disgrace; as men who have refused to obey the order of your superior officers. You have been organized for a half century, and this is the first time in your history this thing has occurred.

“I have been told by those who were present that it was not your fault; that until Bishop Capers made his unfortunate speech, you had resisted the pressure brought to bear upon you by your fathers and your kinsmen, and were ready to

obey your Governor. You disobeyed them and disappointed me. I have sent for you, not to criticise you or to say anything to please you; I want to have a plain talk. I represent in a great degree a faction which controls the State, while you represent the other side, and because of the pressure of the public opinion brought to bear upon you, is the reason you occupy the position you now do. Let's discuss this question and show you the error in which our community, as well as yourselves, perhaps, are laboring under. The Dispensary Law was passed by the Legislature, by the majority of the representatives of the people. It is a law until the Supreme Court declares it unconstitutional.

“ The place to fight it is at the ballot box and in the courts, and not with bullets. Am I, as Chief Executive of the State, authorized by the General Assembly to enforce that law, to stand here and see those appointed to uphold it killed and dogged and hunted like wild beasts? and when I order the militia to go there, to be opposed by the sentiment of the towns where the whiskey and bar men live and paralyze the military? Thank God, South Carolina is safe to-day, because she has soldiers who will obey orders. No, gentlemen, you live in Columbia. My purpose and desire, if you evince the proper spirit, is to show Columbia I bear no malice; that I trust her citizens when they are in cold blood. I want to say, if I will be allowed to do so, that in restoring your arms, I furnish a guarantee that the hot heads who have been preaching strife and discord down the street are quelled.

“ But before I do that my duty is to see that I don't entrust arms to unworthy hands. If you can not obey orders issued by the authorities in a proper way, of course you are useless to the State, and the money that has been expended on you has been wasted. Now, without exacting any pledges, without making any promises, as a matter simply of duty, I desire to ask you gentlemen, one and all, if your arms are restored to you, and you are made again one of the leading companies of this State, and the disgrace and stigma staining your brows washed off, can I rely upon you? If I can't rely

upon you, if there are any members of this company so lost to the duties of citizenship that they will not respond to proper orders, they are unworthy to be soldiers, and should resign from the company. If there is a man in your company who feels he is not ready to obey orders, any orders given by me, let it be made known, because our duty to South Carolina will not allow him.

“At this point Private Moore, son of Dr. T. T. Moore, unbuckled his bayonet and threw it at the feet of the Governor. He was quickly followed by four others. Captain Bateman checked the impulse of the remainder of his men until the Governor had finished his remarks. Colonel Wilie Jones also endeavored to keep the men in line, and as the bayonets would strike the ground at the feet of Governor Tillman, the Colonel would remark: ‘Men, don’t do that.’ Governor Tillman turned to the Captain of the company and said: ‘Captain, if these gentlemen don’t realize and understand the situation, it is best for them to do this, because I don’t want any soldier who cannot obey orders. You know that. I want it thoroughly understood that if the Governor’s Guards cannot be trusted the Governor should know it. I understand that these gentlemen who have discarded their arms mean to inform me that they will not obey orders if they do not suit them. I admire their action.’

“At this juncture nine of the company threw down their bayonets and left the mansion grounds. This left eight men remaining. Governor Tillman addressed Captain Bateman again, saying: ‘You have a nucleus for a company. I restore you your guns. You will report at the Penitentiary to General Richbourg, who has been given orders to restore you your arms. Is it satisfactory, or have you any questions to ask?’

The following was delivered on Sunday afternoon, March 31, 1894, to three hundred militia on the eve of their departure to the Darlington Riot:

“As Chief Executive of South Carolina, I wish to say a few words to you before your departure. I thank you for the

promptness and zeal displayed by you in responding to the call of duty. Many of you have doubts as to the justice of the cause for which you go. You are Reform Democrats and Antis, but all South Carolinians, thank God. The reason of your going to Darlington is caused by the Dispensary law, and it is the law as long as it stands on the statute books until repealed or declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

“The newspapers have sown the seed of discord by teaching you that there are portions of the law which invade private rights. They know that when they say that they lie. The right to search private houses on a warrant is as old as the law itself. They know that they are not telling the truth when they try to make you believe that these men in Darlington were defending their liberties. I said in my message to the Legislature that a big force of constables would not be necessary if the police of the towns would enforce the law; but they would not do it. The Dispensary is not the issue now, but so long as it is on the statutes, so help me God, I intend to enforce it. It is not a question of politics to be fought out by ball and powder, but by the ballot box. So much for the opinion that you are going to uphold tyranny.

“When the news came of the trouble at Darlington, God knows I was never more shocked. When the officers of the law were shot down I was horrified. The sheriff telegraphed me that he was powerless. My first and natural impulse was to appeal to the military of Columbia. What did they do? They surrendered ingloriously the honor of being in service of the State. But thank God there are men left who will obey orders and are not to be dissuaded from duty by political opinions. Two companies at Manning and Sumter did likewise when the action in Columbia was known. We then see the spectacle of the Adjutant General of the State running over the State trying to get men to go and do their duty. I then ordered out the Fourth Brigade of Charleston, that crack command, and all they did was to dicker

with me as to what was their duty. Those cowards in Charleston did like those of Columbia.

“Without a company at my command, I began to cast about and see what I could do to uphold the dignity of the law. I thank God I have found them in you.

“You are going on a delicate and dangerous mission. You must remember that the Darlington people are your fellow-citizens, but they are in insurrection, and it is necessary for you to go there to uphold the law. I see that they have gone to work and destroyed a State Dispensary. Nobody did this but the ex-barbeepers and their hirelings. You go as an arm of the law, and you must treat Darlington people with consideration. But if you are ordered to shoot you must do it, or anarchy will prevail in the State. I hope to restore you to your homes as early as possible, but the law must be upheld, or the State government will be the laughing stock of the world. This ought to be a proud day for you. In after years you can hand it down as a heritage to your children, that you went to Darlington on Tillman’s orders and you are proud of it.”

Extracts from the Governor’s first speech delivered in the campaign of 1890, at Ridgeway, S. C., May 4th:

“I wish to call your attention to the evil of the condition of affairs for several years after we got rid of negro domination. Even now men are trembling in their boots at the remembrance of it. Anything like friction in the party was frowned down upon by common consent. We thought we had better pull together, even though there were differences between us; and we had better pull together now than to bring back that state of ruin and rottenness which we endured from ’68 to ’76. Our legislators—public men, gentlemen—did not wait to be asked to discuss public questions with you, but went about from place to place and asked votes, purely from personal popularity. You voted for your friends, or the fellow that came along with a sleek tongue—the sweetest flatterer. The consequence is, we have brought up a race of moral cowards; men afraid of their own shadows;

men that are to-day on the fence in every issue. They are on it now in this Farmers' Movement, and as soon as they find out which side is the larger, just see how they will slide down and flop off. Therefore, you see, the necessity in the Democratic party, in order to preserve the party, to have a fair and open discussion of the issues in the opening; that we educate the people to what is right and to their interest, then let them decide at the ballot box who is to represent that interest—who shall be Governor of South Carolina.

"I want to tell you right here, in this campaign, if you have a man seeking for your suffrage, who is ready to run with the hare and bark with the hound, spit him out of your mouths, for he is not the one to represent free people. If they cannot come out fairly and squarely and take their position, they are time serving politicians—place-hunters; that is what they are.

"Now, the farmers simply suggest a man to canvass the State and take his chances along with the rest, and oh, what a howl it has raised!

"I want to warn you that right now it is the purpose of the 'Ring' to control the next Democratic Convention if possible, and there has got to be a fight to keep them from doing it. I notice that some of you have organized a Tillman club. I don't want you to organize any Tillman clubs. Stick to your local Democratic clubs; send your men to your County Conventions to name delegates to do your bidding at the State Convention, whether it be to nominate me or some other man.

"Another thing I wish to say to you is this: I presume a large number of my friends here belong to the Alliance. The Alliance is not a political machine, and you ought not to use it in politics. The Alliance can do its duty and you can do yours. The fight is in the party, and not in the Alliance. To drag the Alliance into this thing would seriously injure it.

"Now, gentlemen, I seek to get on the platform which the farmers have put me on to talk to you. I cannot to-day do

more than talk to you about one or two planks in that platform."

[Here the speaker touched on the re-apportionment and the question of electing delegates by primary. He presented a tabulated statement by Counties, in which the inequality and injustice done certain Counties by the plan then in vogue was shown.]

"It is a maxim of law that 'no man can be allowed to take advantage of his own wrong.' But two succeeding Legislatures have been chosen under this iniquitous arrangement, and a third will necessarily follow. Two nominating conventions have met and elected State officers, and the result of the coming contest for supremacy in the party may be decided by these fourteen votes in convention now unlawfully and unjustly held by Charleston, Richland and Hampton.

"The men who have thus robbed their brethren and usurped their political rights, persuaded the Legislature, on the plea of economy, to change the Constitution instead of taking the census, so as to allow the United States census to be used. Then, on purely technical grounds—the adroit wording of the Constitutional amendment enabling lawyers to split hairs about words, though there could be no dispute about facts—after the amendment was adopted these men still refused to do justice.

"Now, we appeal from the Legislature to the people, and we demand our rights. Upon the simple basis of population, without regard to white preponderance, which is very heavy, we demand that equality in the party and that fair play which alone can prevent danger of disruption.

"One white man in Spartanburg or Edgefield should certainly be equal to one negro in Charleston or Columbia. And as we were robbed of our representation under the Constitutional amendment upon a technicality, so we can now demand a re-apportionment with both the letter and the spirit of the law upon our side. The Constitution of the Democratic party provides as follows:

"The State Convention shall be composed of delegates

from each County in the numerical proportion to which that County is entitled in both branches of the General Assembly.'"

"No one disputes that, according to the United States census (which the Constitution now recognizes as the legal basis of representation) seven Counties are each entitled to one more member of the House of Representatives, and, consequently, to two more delegates to the State Convention than they now have. Mark the words. It says, 'to which that County is *entitled*,' not which that County *has*. And we demand apportionment 'as it is nominated in the bond.'

"Now, will the Democratic Executive Committee right this wrong themselves? Will they take steps to have it righted, or will they bow to the rule-or-ruin policy of Charleston and Columbia?

"Suppose in this campaign I should carry the Counties of Greenville, Spartanburg, Laurens, Sumter, Marlboro and Edgefield—and it is not at all impossible—and that Richland and Charleston should oppose me; suppose that the contest shall be decided against me, under the existing apportionment, by twelve votes. What a spectacle will be presented to the people of unfairness among those who should be as brethren! What heart-burnings!

"Is this the compact we made with each other in '76? I could only submit, and I would do so cheerfully, for under no circumstances would I do anything to jeopardize Anglo-Saxon unity.

"Accursed, thrice accursed, be the man who would build his greatness on his country's ruin! Accursed, thrice accursed, be those who in South Carolina, confronted as we are by dangers, engender these feelings of discontent!

"The Chairman of the State Democratic Committee declares that this demand, and the demand for the election of delegates to the State Convention by primary, are 'utterly impracticable and unattainable.'

"I have pointed out how even the letter of the Democratic Constitution allows the Committee to make a just apportion-

ment, and Gen. McCrady suggests a way to remedy all these evils and do away with all danger of a split in the party, viz., by calling a convention at an early day to revise and amend the party Constitution and provide machinery for a square, honest expression next summer of the will of the white men of the State. Democratic unity depends on fair play and honesty in our primaries and Conventions, and Col. Hoyt and his Committee will have much to answer for if they fail to do their duty.

“While accusing me of Mahonism, and thus trying to poison the people against me, signs are not wanting in plenty to show that the ‘Ring’ will hesitate at nothing, will take any and all risks to compass my defeat. And I believe that nothing but my election by an overwhelming vote will prevent them bolting the ticket if I am nominated. ‘The chip will split from the log’ rather than surrender the government to the people.

“The Columbia *Register* has already declared its ability to promise twenty-eight votes in the conventions from Hampton, Horry, Georgetown and Beaufort to any candidate who opposes me; and the question arises as to whether these Counties are ‘rotten boroughs,’ and if so, who owns them?

“Then General McCrady boldly charges, and the Charleston *World* has also made the accusation, that the people of Charleston ‘are dissatisfied because they do not think that their primary elections are fairly conducted;’ but the managing editor of the *News and Courier*, who is a member of the Democratic Executive Committee of Charleston, and who is reported as saying he would ‘prefer to see a Radical made Governor rather than Tillman,’ does not think General McCrady’s plan for securing harmony in the party, and guarding against a danger which all acknowledge, is ‘practical.’ His committee appoints managers of election to help conduct these primaries and count those ballots in secret, and he wants no interference or advice from without or within.

“He does not think that a general primary election is

possible, or that it should be attempted this year.' He is willing, however, to 'provide the necessary regulations for the conduct of such an election in 1802!!!'

" 'A free vote and fair count' and reapportionment must all go over till 1892 for the benefit of Charleston's bosses.

"Next, we have the immortal 'twenty-one conference' who glory in wearing the badge of servitude to the Ring, and who thus deliver themselves:

" 'Believing that upon the perpetuity of the Democratic party in South Carolina, as *at present constituted*, depends the peace and prosperity of the State; believing that the method of nominating State officers by that party in the past have been fair, honorable and just to all classes of our citizens," etc.

"These patriots declare that they can see nothing wrong whatever. They don't object to Charleston and Columbia having twelve more votes in Convention than they are 'entitled' to. Oh, no! Electing delegates to the State Convention by primary or nominating State officers by a direct vote of the people is an innovation entirely too Democratic for these 'aristocrats,' and would overthrow the 'peace and prosperity of the State.' And they boldly avow these aristocratic principles and endorse injustice, while crying aloud in the same breath the Alliance slogan: 'Equal rights to *All*; special privileges to none!' They spell 'All' with a big A, and yet proclaim their belief that 'All' the people are not fit to be allowed to choose their rulers! They are the apostles of 'existing institutions and believe nominations by the Democratic party, as at present constituted,' Convention system, rotten boroughs, secret ballot—counting and all—the very essence of good government!!! One cannot help exclaiming with Madame Roland: 'O Democracy, what crimes are committed in thy name!'

"But these twenty-one agricultural 'aristocrats' don't stop at this. Hear them further: 'The success of the "Tillman movement" under the 'Shell call' would mean the discredit of the Democratic party by itself. It would embroil

the party—make local quiet impossible, and check the industrial development of the State.

“The only comment I will make on this startling proposition is to ask these patriots, who are the self-constituted ‘delegates’ to a conference which has assumed the guardianship of the Democratic party, to bring forward their proofs of accusations made by Captain Shell or myself against the State officers of ‘corruption’; and, further, to advance reasons why my nomination as Governor of South Carolina would be followed by such dire consequences, and I will then show that they forcibly make us make accusations in order to deny them, and also themselves make assertions which they can not justify. The State officers have never been accused of corruption by either Captain Shell or myself, and these men know it. And if the ‘Shell call’ is a slander and libel on the party, why don’t they prove the falsity of the charges?”

“This is a fight of the people against the politicians—of the Democratic party against a ring which has usurped its machinery and functions, and we want more Democratic principles and policy and less prating about the ‘Democratic party.’ We want more of the blessing of self-government and liberty, and less of the dry husks of party tyranny and broken promises.”

The following are portions of the speech delivered at the laying of the corner-stone of the Winthrop College, Rock Hill, S. C., May 12, 1894:

“This is a great and glorious day for South Carolina. It is a day of promise and bright hope for York County; but the men and women whose breasts should swell and throb with deepest emotions of gratulation and pride are the men and women of Rock Hill—those whose pluck, self-reliance, far-sighted business instincts and patriotism made them enter the race for the prize and come out winners. If, as is already clearly apparent, the prize is a greater, more valuable one than they themselves ever dreamed, then I know every one of you who come to celebrate the public

installation of this grand institution will join me in congratulations to the people of this ambitious, progressive little city, and your hearty sympathy is shown by this outpouring of people to witness her triumph.

“We have met to celebrate with fitting ceremonies the laying of the corner-stone of this noble State institution of learning. It is, as it were, the public and official birth of the Woman’s College. As chairman of the Board of Trustees the task has fallen to me—and I perform it willingly—to make a few introductory remarks. And first let me say that in casting about in my mind for something fitting the occasion, I thought it would interest you to know something about the ceremony itself, and I went to work to look up the subject. I soon found that I had gotten into very deep water—so deep in fact that I have never touched bottom—for although I have ransacked encyclopedias and Masonic dictionaries, I can find nothing very clear on the subject, and absolutely nothing as to its origin. We read every day of the laying of the corner-stone of this monument or that edifice or church, and it is always done by the Free Masons; but the Masons themselves, while they employ a most imposing ritual and use symbols that are very impressive, are equally in the dark with ourselves as to when, where, or by whom the ceremony was instituted.

* * * * *

“The history of higher education in South Carolina for men is one of which our people may well be proud. The South Carolina College at Columbia was founded in 1801, ninety-three years ago, and it has always deserved and received handsome support from the State. The Citadel, another school for boys, was established fifty-one years ago. Until within the last eight years these two colleges, which were promptly reopened as soon as the white people regained possession of the government in South Carolina in 1876, were considered ample by those who had control, to supply all needs of our people for higher education by the State.

“But the wheels of progress were moving, even in South

Carolina, and, after a somewhat protracted and bitter struggle, another school for boys—Clemson College—was established in 1889 by Act of the General Assembly, and opened its doors to students last July. The school is a new departure. The three fundamental ideas which have actuated those who plead for it, and who have opened it so successfully, are: (1) cheapness, (2) dignity of labor, and (3) the application of science to practical affairs. It is a "bread and butter" school in every sense of the word, seeking to fit men for the occupations they intend to follow, while giving a good practical drill in the English branches. It was contended by those who opposed its being founded that the man should be educated first and then left to acquire technical or special training afterwards. The fundamental idea of the Clemson curriculum is that the two shall go together: that, while the mind is being drilled to reason correctly and the brain cultivated by the acquisition of knowledge, the hand and eye shall also be trained, and that, instead of devoting time to physical culture in the gymnasium, on the baseball ground, or in the tennis court, the boy shall receive all necessary muscular development by performing labor which is educational on the farm, in the work-shop and from military drill.

"That this college has met a long felt want, and that our people have faith and hope for the new system of education, you have ocular demonstration in the splendid corps of cadets, numbering over 500, who have paid their way to come across the State to give an earnest of the pleasure they feel in adding *eclat* to the occasion which has brought us together. Consider that ten months ago every one of these erect, manly-looking youngsters was a gawky, slouchy country lout or city dude, while half of them have been at Clemson only since February, and you will give due credit to those in charge of it for the transformation which has been wrought. I have reason to know that the transformation going on in their minds is equally marked. These youths are the seed corn of our country. They are being taught

that God helps those who help themselves; that success in life requires self-reliance and labor; that work is honorable; that work is necessary; and that South Carolina will never achieve greatness except through the efforts of her own children: that knowledge of books is good, but not the only knowledge that is necessary; that knowledge of things is better; and that skill, energy and perseverance, with diversified pursuits, will alone make South Carolina great and prosperous.

"We find when we come to recapitulate, that the South Carolina College, hoary with age and rendered illustrious by the famous men it has educated, stands strong and sturdy among its clustering elms in our Capital City. The Citadel, equally honored by its *alumni*, is doing its special work in Charleston. Clemson, which is spanned by such a bright rainbow of promise, is fanned by the mountain breezes of Oconee. All for boys.

"What have you done for our women? Where does the State educate its future mothers? The answer to the one question is "nothing;" the answer to the other is, alas, too often, "nowhere." But, thank God, this great wrong will soon be righted. This reproach on our justice and our statesmanship will no longer cause us to blush. We have waited long—too long—but tardy justice will be done to the sisters of the boys for whose education the State has spent millions of dollars, while the girls have received nothing.

"Grandeur in design than any or all of them, larger and more elaborate in architecture, more beautiful and ornamental, as is fitting, the Winthrop Normal and Industrial College of South Carolina will ere long pierce the heavens with its stately spire, and the sky of York will be spanned by another bright rainbow of promise that will attract the gaze of the people not only of this State but of many States. The building, whose corner-stone we lay to-day, is one of the largest single school edifices in the South, and when the two dormitories, which are required to complete the plan, are erected,

it will be the largest woman's college of its kind in the Union.

"Be it said to the credit of the men of the State that, whether from shame at their long neglect, or from a sturdy realization of the necessity and importance of the system of training which we propose to inaugurate here, there has not been one dissenting voice thus far raised against the building and equipment of this college, since the idea first took shape three years ago.

"I know I voice the sentiment of every man, woman and child in this audience and in South Carolina, that it is altogether fit and right that we have honored Calhoun's friend and enlogist by giving his name to Clemson's twin sister. And I know you will all unite with me in the prayer that this grand, good old man may be spared at least to see the fruition of our hopes in the assembling within these walls of the 600 South Carolina girls for whom we are preparing. Neither of these men can receive any honor from the association of their names with the two colleges. Let us hope that the youths of our State, from this association, will emulate their illustrious example.

"This school is to be known as the Winthrop Normal and Industrial College. These two words, 'normal' and 'industrial,' are the two lodestars which must guide our people out of the bog of poverty, ignorance and stagnation which surround us. Within their meaning lies our only hope—the one says *educate*, the other means *work*. I would not be understood as claiming or intending that the women of our State do not work, or that they are all ignorant. In fact, some years ago, in discussing the causes of our depressed financial condition, I made the assertion, and I stick to it yet, that only two classes of our population did their share of work. No observant or fair-minded person will deny that our wives and daughters have met the changed conditions wrought by the emancipation of the slaves with much greater success and fortitude than the men, and that they do a much larger proportion of work than we do. On the other

hand, it is equally patent that the bulk of the labor among the colored people is performed by men.

“We desire to say that we fully realize and understand the great need of better teachers—teachers trained specifically for that vocation. There are hundreds and thousands of fairly well educated women in our State, many of whom are following the noble avocation of teaching. But the mere possession of knowledge does not carry with it the power of imparting it, of exciting emulation, of making study interesting, of training children how to think and exercise their reasoning powers. I have often thought that teachers are born, not made; and we occasionally meet with those who have a genius for imparting knowledge without any normal training. But the improved systems which have been adopted in the Winthrop School, and the facility with which all the graduates of that school obtain positions at more remunerative wages than others of equal education who have not had its advantages, are proofs that normal training is an absolute necessity and invaluable. Without reflecting in the slightest upon the work which has hitherto been done in this line, it is our purpose to enlarge and improve on that work, and it will be our ambition to have such professors, and inaugurate such a curriculum, as shall not only furnish facilities for persons already educated to get this normal training, but shall take the young girl fresh from home and carry her through all the classes up to the highest proficiency in the normal department, conferring degrees for the varying degrees of proficiency. There will never be any restrictions as to the number of normal students, but we will take all who apply for this specific training, from whatever part of the country.

“But along with the normal, co-ordinated and of equal importance, will be the industrial feature of the school. Somebody long ago said ‘knowledge is power.’ In these latter days, we have also come to learn that knowledge is also money independence. And knowledge, coupled with skill, backed by industry, will always insure any woman,

however fragile, absolute exemption from want and poverty. Every father who thinks aright, would have his daughter, if thrown on her own resources, able to earn her own support. The effects of slavery upon our habits and customs are, however, still plainly visible. We are disinclined as a people to have our women leave home to seek their fortunes or enter into industrial life. The consequence is, that with the system of education which has hitherto prevailed, preparing women solely to adorn the drawing-room and shine in society, our women have been altogether helpless and our system of education has been a fatal blunder. How many thousands of our women, tenderly nurtured, carefully trained at expensive boarding schools, have found themselves by the death of father, brother or husband thrown on their own resources, left to battle with the cold, hard world, by the loss of their protectors? Every day we come across some of these, and while an increasing number have found positions of late years as clerks in stores, the vast army have had no other avenues open to them except work as seamstresses or in cotton factories. In these latter, owing to the fact that the manufacturing industries of our State have developed only in the coarser fabrics, their labor has not been very remunerative, and it is sought only as the dernier resort. Any one who has visited the Northern cities and factories is struck with the painful contrast in the dress, demeanor, intelligence and evident prosperity of the skilled female labor, compared with that which we see here in the South. We can and must change this.

“There will be no conflict of rivalry between the Normal and Industrial departments. In fact, the normal students will be required to take industrial training in order that we may be able to have manual training taught by the Winthrop graduates in our common schools, when this feature shall be grafted upon our school system, as we hope to see done ere long.

“Now, I am going to do some very plain talking. While our aspirations and ambitions are all in the direction of fit-

ting women for self-support, both as teachers and as followers of industrial avocations. I want it understood that I, at least, am irrevocably opposed to anything being done or taught here that shall tend in the slightest degree to rub the bloom off the peach. God forbid that this school shall ever send forth a woman who has been unsexed. We would have the clinging, helpless creature able to stand erect and walk; we would have the trembling bird given wings—to fly from home—seek avenues of independence, until she can find a mate and build a nest for herself; but never, never have any of the daughters of South Carolina, who shall be trained in these walls, by reason of the strength and self-reliance which we hope to impart here, become other than helpful wives and happy and self-respecting mothers. Woman's special province in life is that of a home-maker. Her greatest glory, her proudest distinction, the object of her creation in fact, is that of motherhood. "Woman, God's last, best gift to man," is associated with all that is brightest and noblest and best in men's lives. As daughter, sister, sweetheart, wife, mother, she is an inspiration and a solace. As a wife, she [doubles man's joys and halves his sorrows, simply by sharing them; but the highest, purest, most self-sacrificing love in the world is that of a mother. It is to fit women to be mothers—high, noble, properly trained mothers, the natural [and proper guardians of children, that this school is founded. We will start in that path, give it the bias and direction to which it should be held, and thus best discharge the high duty imposed upon us by those who have placed us in control.

"Contrast the picture I have drawn, of a woman trained in all the domestic arts and economics, and some bread-winning occupation; self-reliant and strong, yet withal modest, self-respecting and lady-like, with what we sometimes see, oftener read about—a strong minded, bold, brazen, pert, self-asserting female, prating of 'woman's right,' 'man's tyranny and selfishness,' the 'degradation of nursing chil-

dren,' and so on, ad nauseam. The first, a picture to illustrate Wordsworth's noble lines:

“ ‘She was a phantom of delight,
When first she gleamed upon my sight,
A lovely apparition, sent
To be a moment's ornament:
Her eyes as stars of twilight fair,
Like twilight, too, her dusky hair,
But all things else about her drawn
From May time and the cheerful dawn.’

“This is the picture of his sweetheart when the beautiful vision first crossed his path: now read the poet's tribute to his wife in the next verse:

“ ‘A creature not too bright or good
For human nature's daily food;
For transient sorrows, simple wiles,
Praise, blame, love, kisses, tears and smiles;
The reason firm, the temperate will,
Endurance, foresight, strength and skill;
A perfect woman, nobly planned,
To warn, to comfort, and to command.’

“Of the other I have no fit description, for poets have never sung her praises; but her position in the estimation of all right thinking men and women can be pretty well set forth in last line of a piece of doggerel brought home from school the other day by my little six-year-old daughter, who took great delight in repeating it:

“ ‘I know a little girl
With a little curl
Hanging right down her forehead;
When she is good
She is very, very good,
But when she is bad she is horrid.’

“Before closing I want to give emphasis to one thought. I have already pointed out the unanimity with which men of all classes, conditions and ideas have joined hands in aid-

ing to erect this school. It is the one thing and the only thing upon which the men of South Carolina are at present united. Only alluding, in passing, to the division and bitterness which exist among our people, allow me to express the hope that this point of union may grow and spread; that the inspirations of this day may prove a harbinger and help to hasten the restoration of that harmony and friendly feeling which once existed, and which must necessarily return before we can have any great degree of prosperity. Our interests are one, our ancestry is the same—let us yield to the rule of justice and reason and the government of the majority; for we be brethren. Why not dwell together as brethren?

“As in the days of old the ancient Sabines were brought to peace with the Romans by the women who had been seized and borne off captives to become the wives of the latter; so may the women of South Carolina become our peacemakers. Let them take hold of the work in earnest—go to all the campaign meetings in full force to make their fathers, husbands and brothers behave themselves; and at the end of Summer we shall have something better than prohibition or sub-treasury,

“Peace in all our hearts,
Peace in all our homes.”

At Bennettsville, S. C., just nine years after he had first attacked the “oligarchy,” in this same place, Governor Tillman summed up some of the few things that Reform had done:

“The first thing Reform did was to choke Coosaw into submission; next, the people were given the right to see candidates before voting for them; having Railroad Commissioners elected by the people direct; reapportionment of the State; primary elections; refunding the State debt; building Clemson College and the Woman’s College; collection of railroad and bank taxes, and making corporations obey the law after we had a hard fight; calling a Constitutional Convention, and last and greatest, the Dispensary law.”

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